/8 cont./

Birth and death of the first-born. The father must pay the 851 expenses of pregnancy and delivery, as well as those occasioned by the celebration of the birth of his first child, and he is expected to offer a special feast at his own expense at the place where the birth occurred. The news of the birth of the child spreads rapidly and draws relatives and friends from all parts. At midday the dance, which lasts all night, begins, in which the single women and all the men take part. The rhythm is supplied [534] [535] by a double-headed drum made of deer or goat hide. The dancing takes place within a large circle, around the edges of which the couples participating and the curious onlookers gather. The women attend in their finest dresses without forgetting their ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, and anklets) and wear wound round the head a handkerchief, which falls over the shoulder, and have their faces very carefully painted. The men wear broad belts wonderfully embroidered and feather headpieces.

[275] The father must supply his guests with Goajiro rum or with smuggled foreign liquor. Also chicha (made from chewed corn) [541] is prepared and is served liberally. Apart from the dancing there may be horse racing, if the people are rich, and for this they bring their finest animals. At dawn the next day cattle, if the father is rich, and goats are slaughtered, which are prepared and divided among the participants according to their importance in the family, the group, and the total collectivity in general. All the participants return to their homes by sunrise.

In addition to the father, the maternal and paternal relatives [431] join in the celebration of the birth, bringing gifts for the newly born. The father also makes him a present of heads of livestock, [428] which constitute almost the only inheritance he will get during his lifetime, as it is the nephews of the father, (sons of his sister) who inherit the capital and not the sons, according to law, when the marriage has been carried out according to the Goajiro rite.

851 The paternal grandfather also shows his recognition and 431 generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is 428 obliged to give a pair of each -- horses, burros, cows, goats,

[21cont.]

When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is organized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the participants: chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum. In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick person is taken from his bed, and the curer himself bathes him with soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The process of these cures may last up to two months, according to the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they approach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the ankles, their wairenas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same material, and a mitonia around their heads, the corners of which hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they complete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of coral and necklaces of gold or tumbaga. The men also wear their finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a wide sash used to support the hammock [guayuco], wider than the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily work. If animals are sacrificed -- which depends on the wealth

Rollander T-5 (1926, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goujiro SC13

Above left: Youth playing a flute

Above right: Little girl with book

Right: Rider

[Facing p. 69]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Guajiro SC13

123 352 534

celved. They brought out stools carved with animals' heads and tails for us to sit on, and then four young men hastened to entertain us with music. I had happened to ask about musical instruments and it appeared that we had come to a musical family. They all played the flute, which there was usually small, of reed or wood, and ornamented with carved figures. There was also a larger flute which had a mouthpiece and reed, like a child's trumpet, and a calabash at the other end. This instrument buzzed and droned like a bumble-bee. It was extraordinary. It did not seem a South American instrument at all. In fact, it was quite simply an offshoot of the eastern snake-charmer's flute, which I had seen in Morocco. How had it got to America? Perhaps through the Moors. The early Spanish discoverers had Moorish slaves and servants with them, and, as we shall see, this flute was not the only indication of Moorish influence.

[171]

Guajira is often called the Arabia of South America, because it too is an arid peninsula with a population largely consisting of nomad herdsmen. In the distance a Guajiro caravan looks thoroughly eastern, and who knows from whom the Guajiros' forefathers acquired their knowledge of how to ride and to rear cattle?

123 533

Not wishing to spoil the concert, I said nothing of all this. I myself am quite unmusical, but my wife gave the performers full marks. The pieces had names that suited the setting: 'The Little Goat seeks its Mother', 'The Horses are driven Home', 'By the rippling Water'. The four also sang. To European ears their singing was considerably less attractive than the music, but the words were often poetical and lovely. 'The little goat laments and says: the water that I drink is salt and salt are the plants I have to eat. And just as it begins to drizzle, the little goat's salt tears fall along with the other drops upon the salt ground.' In that perhaps was a little too much salt, but it was typically Guajiran. Even a goat can get too much of what others seek so avidly elsewhere.

123 534

They showed us other musical instruments: a drum that was played for dancing and a whistle made of calabash, intended for signalling. One of the four also produced a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed instruments were not known in South America before the arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that they were introduced late.

The concert was interrupted by the women announcing that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not like their taste and never did more than just sample them. We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred not to know why.

In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying, but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with. Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

Having four young men present, I thought I would arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable things and the contestants did their best. The fourth received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections; the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bamboo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds, had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

?:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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756 If cattle, these are tethered beside the hut where the
757 séance is being held; if ornaments they are handed to the piache.

If the piache does not receive what he demands—or rather what the spirit demands—attacks compel him to stop treatment. If the patient recovers, the piache retains the gifts on behalf of the spirit; but if the patient dies, then he is not supposed to get anything. Sometimes, however, he apparently keeps his fee on various pretexts—threats that the spirit might be angry, etc.

The piache observes his patient closely during treatment. An experienced medicine man will perhaps see that the patient has scarcely any hope of recovery and will pronounce him doomed.

During these séances the spirits often speak with the piache about the life to come. They tell him that in another existence he will come to a land with many villages that he
[178] has never seen before, in a countryside well watered by blue rivers—a glorious prospect from the Goajiro point of view. It seems that the spirits are here speaking of the piaches' special heaven. Ordinary Indians, perhaps, have to be content with a less well-watered paradise. If the patient recovers, the piache orders a chichamaya dance. The maize beer for this is prepared either by chewing or by adding raw sugar,
[179] *panela*. Those taking part remain in as soon as the drum, the only instrument, begins to sound. Nobody is invited; people just come as they wish. In the houses of the well-to-do they will be regaled with beef, one or more cattle being slaughtered for this. All will be in their finery. The dance will last one day or more, as the piache orders. The piache then washes his patient, who must still keep indoors.

760 When a child falls ill, the parents will often consult some neighbour who dabbles in fortune-telling to find out what the cause is. It will be cheaper to let her try, than at once to call in a professional sooth-sayer or a piache. The old woman will often burn the child with a red-hot needle or arrow-head, which in certain abnormal mental states, perhaps could provide a beneficial shock. The woman will often

The Goajiro believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is prevented from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 767
offense to mention a dead person by name. 801

SPORTIVE AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The Goajiro have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 826
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The Goajiro are fond of feasts and hold them 779
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 724
pay for hauling salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Wilson (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band, with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and lead off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—Goajiro musical instruments are few. A 539
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarion is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of scooped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a clarinlike reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sharkskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the Goajiro is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 773
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another

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[190 cont.]

Finally, it remains to be discovered whether a people neighboring the Bakairees is familiar with the musical bow. I have already said that this was not the case among the rest of the Arkuans.

Among the Guajiro Indians, along with the "marapa," a musical bow with handmade string is used. One end of the bow is put in the mouth, and a narrow, uneven stick is drawn over the string. The strange overlaid of the string already [190] points to Iano influence. there are various African roots in the Guajiro culture, as I shall try to show in a future monograph. Moreover, the musical bow here is small, poorly made, and is used mainly by boys. Among the Mundrucu Indians on the Maranon, too, boys play a (see below /unresolved/). Here one must likewise assume that the Indians learned how to use it only in post-Columbian times, probably from the mulattoes living in the Iari country.

As far as the Chimila are concerned, De Brettes says that he saw hanging on the entrance of a hut a small bow 30 centimeters long, with accompanying arrows. He does not know what this is used for (190). I myself, during my brief visit among these

190 /from p. 337 of the foreign ver/. De Brettes, p. 465.

Indians, did not see such a bow, but they told me that in connection with the weaning of boys they use a bow decorated with feathers. Among the Lipa, the "spouse" presents the little child with a tiny bow of palm wood. Ostensibly, this is no more to-revealed as a musical instrument than the Chimila bow. Since the bow was already used in former times as religious ceremonial, which it has ceremonies in South America, one can at least imagine that a musical bow, which even in this ruined state to the symbolic bow, might easily find some use or other. The ceremonial must be observed, one must not forget anything, but no addition is easily achieved. The argument of Lumholtz is therefore not conclusive, as I have noted earlier. An instrument owned exclusively